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VOL. X

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Art. III.—COMMERCE WITH THE CANADAS, AND WITH THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES.*

OF COMMERCE—HISTORY OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM—ERA OF WALKER—NAVIGATION LAWS—STATE OF THE TRADE—CANADA AND THE LOWER PROVINCES—THE COMMERCE OF CANADA—EFFECTS ON THE SOUTHERN STATES—EFFECTS ON THE WEST—THE NAVIGATION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE—EFFECTS ON NEW ENGLAND—CONCLUSION, ETC.

ON COMMERCE.

I SHALL endeavor to call your attention to one of the great practical questions of the day, that has been less discussed than its merits demand; and which, in the present aspect of affairs, is likely for the next few years to occupy much of public attention.

I have said that it is a public, not a political question, that it refers to our material prosperity rather than to our merely intellectual advancement; and as it concerns our foreign relations also, those who would consider of its importance must look well to its practical bearing on our politics and our business relations. We live here, gentlemen, on the barren soil of New England, depending upon our industry for the means of life; blasting our rugged rocks, felling the stately pines upon our mountain side, or by perseverance and frugality gathering from the earth a scanty return of fruits for our support. The energy of our people has sought all means of sustenance—our rivers have been yoked up with dams, and are only permitted to flow on towards the ocean on the condition that they work for our support as they obey the laws of gravitation. Our hardy sons search the waters of the world for fish that will yield food or oil for the comfort of man. Dr. Franklin well said that "he who draws up a fish, draws up a piece of silver." Our busy Commerce spreads its white wings and drives a thriving exchange of commodities with all the nations of the earth. The resistless power of steam whirls the swift wheel and speeds the carriage of freight and passengers over our hundred iron roads. Our mechanics toil to supply the necessities of life and the luxuries of civilization to the barbarous and uncivilized inhabitants of other countries, as well as to the civilized of earth's nations. Our halls of learning are devoted to educate chosen bands to go forth as teachers of civilization, of religion, of literature, among our sister States. The votaries of science exhaust the knowledge of the world and the combinations of the intellect, in the desire to explore the laws of nature and extend the realm of knowledge. The pale inventor, careless of wealth, emulous of fame and good, absorbs his whole mind and time in endeavors to apply each new discovery of science to the practical good of man, through the mechanic arts.

Nature seems the only bar to our progress in knowledge and wealth, far beyond that of any other people that have ever lived upon the earth: though man has done much, she has done but little. Within our limits, no rich mines yield a bounteous supply of labor. We are destitute of coal fields, that real source of the great prosperity of England and of our Middle States. No great rivers, like the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, bear up-

* We have great pleasure in laying before the readers of the *Merchants' Magazine*, the following Lecture on "the advantages to New England of Reciprocity with the Canadas and the British North American Colonies," by CHARLES LEVI WOODBURY, Esq., U. S. Commissioner. In a note to the editor of this Magazine, Mr. WOODBURY says: "I have revised and extended it a little beyond its original size, so as to embrace the bearing of the question on other than the New England section of the country." We commend it to the attention of our readers generally.—Ed. *Mer. Mag.*

on their bosoms to us a Commerce more enriching than the deposits of the Nile. Our resources are drawn from a great distance, and the cost increased by freights far above what it is in more favored climes. Our coal, brought from the mountains of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Our wheat and beef from the prairies of Ohio and Illinois; our cotton from the far South; our wool from the antipodes; our iron from the mountains of Pennsylvania or of Wales.

Our prosperity has depended upon our industry and our intellect. Great as has been our progress, and vast as the accumulated products of our industry are, we cannot forget or overlook the fact that other States of this Union, better situated than ourselves with regard to the great channels of communication to our various markets, endowed with cheaper supplies of coal, iron, and food, requiring less shelter and clothing for defence from a rude winter, are growing most rapidly, and entering into competition dangerous to our foreign interests in our home markets.

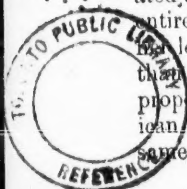
My inquiry is directed to this question:—Whether we have not some natural advantages yet unexplored, by which we can extend our markets for our productions; cheapen to us the cost of raw material, and of production of our manufactures; increase our Commerce and our trade, and enable us to go forward in that triumphant march of civilization, industry, and increase of population, that, so far, has attended our exertions.

Before I proceed further, a short resume of the commercial history of the colonial trade will be interesting, both from its intrinsic usefulness, and that it will show that the statesmen of New England have contended for this measure even so far back as the days of Washington. The illustrious names of Dr. Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and of John Adams, of Quincy, are guarantees of the political soundness of the question, and leave it, as I first said, purely commercial, and to be decided by the rule of dollars and cents, whether or not we can make money by reciprocity with Canada.

HISTORY OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM.

Your historical studies make you well acquainted with the general colonial system of Great Britain. After the discovery of America and its settlement, the European powers that had colonies, each established a similar system in effect, that their colonies should be dependent on their mother countries for supplies, and have no intercourse with any other country than her. In effect this prevented the American colonies from manufacturing for themselves, or from engaging largely in ship-building or Commerce; isolating them from the rest of the world—leaving them no trade except to the mother country. Lord Chatham even declared "that we had no right to make even a nail for a horse shoe." The English system begun by Oliver Cromwell continued till our revolution exempted us from further subjection to it. At this time (1776) we had in the colonies our right to trade with England; with the British West India colonies, and with that part of Europe south of Cape Finisterre. The rest of the world was shut out from us.

The revolution being over, the peace declared, a treaty was to be negotiated respecting our commercial relations with Great Britain, which had been entirely destroyed during the war. The United States desired to get back the lost trade with the British West Indies, then a greater source of wealth than Cuba. In March, 1783, Mr. Pitt, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed a bill "to admit to all the ports of the British dominions, American vessels loaded with goods the growth or produce of these States, on the same terms as British vessels and goods." This measure was opposed by



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the British merchants, and by Lord North, and Mr. Fox, and Lord Sheffield; and at their suggestion the whole power was lodged in the hands of the king and his council, who by an early order, not only excluded American vessels from all participation in the colonial trade, but even forbade our provisions and fish to be carried in British bottoms.

In 1785, our minister, John Adams, on the part of the United States, proposed to the British government to place all the trade between the two countries and their dominions upon a footing of "*perfect and liberal reciprocity*." This was refused at once, Lord Liverpool saying "that it cannot be admitted even as a subject of negotiation." Thus were we cut off from a valuable trade.

Prior to the Revolution, in 1769, the trade of the thirteen colonies stood :

Imports.....	\$13,000,000
Exports.....	12,000,000
Total	25,000,000
Of this whole trade, that with the British West Indies was—	
Our exports	3,700,000
Our imports	7,950,000
Total trade	11,650,000

Our own government showed its sense of the injurious conduct of the British, by adopting retaliatory measures, our tariff and our navigation act. A capricious and generally exclusive policy continued, the details of which are unnecessary in this place. Sometimes the necessities of the colonies compelled them to reciprocate with us, usually they endeavored to exclude us entirely.

The mind of man never rests quiet under oppression and tyranny, and new views were dawning even in England as to the benefits of liberal policy in Commerce.

In 1817 we had passed a navigation law as strenuous as the British, offering at the same time to suspend its operations with regard to any power who would treat us with reciprocity.

1822 saw the influence of this measure stimulate Lord Goderich, in parliament, to move upon the question of a liberal colonial policy.

In 1825, that great statesman, Mr. Huskisson, introduced a bill to reform this policy; his measure prevailed, and after much negotiation and further efforts, a reciprocal yielding up of certain of the restrictions upon the Commerce of these northern colonies and ourselves was effected, and—

In 1830, the proclamation of Andrew Jackson and the orders in council of the imperial government, loosened up the restrictive policy, and the long wished for experiment that Mr. Jefferson as Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. John Adams as minister to England, and Mr. Pitt as Chancellor of the Exchequer, fifty years before had approved and recommended, commenced its trial as a practical thing. But only partially, for these measures were only addressed to the discriminating duties by which England had sought to prevent any direct trade between us and the colonies, and the retaliatory duties that we had levied on the English vessels, the system of annoyance was broken down and a direct trade permitted between us and the colonies.

Yet even this brought relief, and gave renewed vitality to a trade that fifty years of persecution had failed to crush out of existence.

The day was not yet come for "*a perfect and liberal reciprocity*." On both sides of the Atlantic and on both sides of the St. Lawrence, prejudice,

timidity, conservatism even of wrong, opposed their obstacles. There are but few minds in any age that have the courage and the industry to think well and carefully on any proposition, and the "doubting Thomases" of Commerce and politics stood asking for a sign, yet refusing to try the experiment lest they should be astonished at the result.

Even this little liberality worked wonders; steadily year by year more apparent was the good resulting from the measures of reciprocity, and more ready the mercantile community to become converts to the unmistakable facts developed by the statistics of a growing trade.

ERA OF WALKER—NAVIGATION LAWS—PEEL—PRESENT STATE OF TRADE.

Liberal Policy. The advent of a liberal government in England, (1846) who held to the policy that to secure the cheapest production of manufactures they must cheapen the cost of living, was the sign of a new era in the colonial policy. The distressed state of the English finances induced Sir. Robert Peel to propose throwing the colonies on their own resources, so as to save the heavy appropriations the imperial government had heretofore made for the civil list. Whilst at the same time he proposed the repeal of the corn laws, to provide for the laboring people cheap food; and the country was ready to support his policy.

In the States, at the same time, Mr. Robert J. Walker, a distinguished free trader, held the treasury department and the confidence of Congress, and a liberal commercial measure—the tariff of 1846—simultaneously received the support of the people of the United States.

The concurrence of views of these two great statesman and their governments, the success that attended their measures, led them naturally to pursue further their views of liberalizing the commercial intercourse between the two nations. Thirty years before, (1817,) the United States, in passing her navigation laws, had announced herself ready to adopt reciprocal measures of liberality whenever foreign nations should desire to do the same by us. Now Great Britain, after seventy years of stern monopolizing exclusiveness, was pressed by her commercial and manufacturing interests to do that which Mr. Pitt had vainly struggled for in 1783. 1849 saw the crowning act of the life of Sir Robert Peel—the navigation laws of England repealed. The ships of all the world were permitted to bring to her doors what articles they had for sale. The President of the United States (1850) responded by a proclamation of similar import, and a great chain fell from the limbs of pinioned Commerce. Let us see our statistics:—

COMMERCE OF THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES AND THE UNITED STATES, 1827.

Imports into United States	\$445,000
Domestic exports from United States.....	2,704,014
Total trade	3,149,014

And we rise until June, 1849, which just precedes the era of the repeal of the navigation laws, when we stand—

Imports to the United States from Canada	\$1,461,082
" " " other colonies	1,845,798
Imports	2,826,880
Domestic exports from United States to Canada.....	\$2,320,323
" " " other colonies.....	3,611,783
Total domestic exports.....	5,932,106

Total trade of Canada with United States.....	\$15,546,635
“ “ Great Britain.....	22,586,915

Since this era of reciprocity commenced the Canadians have dealt fairly with us, and have put our trade on a better footing even than that with their mother country.

It naturally suggests itself to the mind, since twenty-two years of practical experience in growing reciprocity has accomplished so much, that we should make one long step in the career of progress, and pass laws declaring “a perfect and liberal reciprocity” henceforth in respect to all of our domestic productions; that we shall, now that experience has demonstrated so much, govern our commercial intercourse by that idea which, for sixty years, has appeared to be the dream of the great statesman I have referred to: our frontier to become simply a political one, and the American farmer in the North to buy his yoke of oxen across the line and drive them home without the custom-house officer presenting his pistol at his breast and demanding one-fourth of the value of the beast as a tax due to the government; that the Canadian merchant may come here and buy his boots, his cotton goods, his hardware, his fish, and carry them home alike without molestation on the frontier; in short, that the Canadian trade shall be as free to us as is the trade of the city of New York, or of Portland. Further, that the trade of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall become equally free; that they may bring us coal and lumber, buy our flour, cloth, boots, and corn as freely as the States of this Union; and that we may catch our fish unmolested by British cruisers. All this is neighborly and peaceful; it will be to our advantage.

But as it is useless to anticipate matters before the fullness of time shall mature and ripen the experience of those most interested, it is only necessary now to consider and discuss the increased reciprocity proposed by our northern neighbors, and point out the advantages it offers to our citizens.

CANADA AND THE LOWER PROVINCES.

We have upon our northern boundary large and populous provinces, partially dependent upon Great Britain, long shut out from us by a political policy of that power, which had for its object to isolate the colonies from all the world, and keep them entirely dependent upon herself for all their supplies.

The progress of more enlarged views as to Commerce, the rights of man, and general political economy, have lately produced much relaxation from the strictness of exclusion meditated by the colonial policy of Great Britain, and for two and a half centuries closely adhered to.

Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia enjoy now a freedom greater than at any previous time in their history; permitted at last to develop their resources, and seek for the most profitable markets, and means of carrying on their Commerce and receiving their supplies, they have turned their long-lying eyes to us, delighted with our progress, and viewing the immense advantages that a reciprocal and free Commerce would confer upon the two countries. Seeing how great an advantage it would be for her to seek the markets of the world through our ports, Canada demands of our government that henceforth the relations of Commerce between us should be those of free and reciprocal exchange, so far as our respective domestic products are concerned.

They ask this as a commercial union. It does not affect or touch the foreign trade of either power. It has in it no political union whatsoever—smacks nothing of annexation. Their political union is with Great Britain; ours is of our thirty-one independent States, leagued simply by our constitution.

Now, who are they, considered as consumers and producers for us, that they should ask this boon? What commercial reasons exist for our considering this proposition? Let me answer briefly.

It will be borne in mind that within the last ten years most extraordinary developments of industry, prosperity, and wealth have taken place amongst our northern neighbors; as our new States on this side of the Mississippi have been filled up with population, the fields for emigration have receded beyond Lake Michigan and now beyond the Mississippi, the fertile lands of Canada West, lying as near to the seaboard as the average of the north-western States, have attracted the enterprise of the emigrant, until their population has doubled within ten years; and if, as is probable, they continue to increase at the same ratio for twenty years, Canada West will sustain a population of five millions of people, and Canada East nearly four millions.

The benign and paternal system of exclusion that, rendering man's independence subordinate to the mere political content, represses his enterprise and self-reliance, circumscribes his sphere of action, and forces him in the search for his material prosperity to submit to an arbitrary discipline ruinous to his fortunes and capriciously destructive to the progress of national prosperity and civilization, has been broken down by the energy of the Canadians, and her people are now seeking for that larger liberty we have taught them to expect from the ruin of the colonial system of exclusion and subordination that has so long repressed their energies.

They have a population of almost two millions in the Canadas, two-thirds of a million in the other provinces, making almost three millions of people; a vast extent of wild land, good for agriculture, and the increase of the Canadas is at the rate of near 100 per cent in ten years. The great river St. Lawrence, the only outlet of Canada to the ocean, from the high latitude of its mouth is closed by ice nearly six months of the year. Their shortest route to the ocean is through our country by numerous railroads and canals, amongst which ours are the shortest of all. They have few manufactories among them, but are consumers of exactly the character of goods that we do manufacture. They have vast forests of lumber, while ours are nearly exhausted. They have in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick great beds of coal, lying close to tide-water navigation, and cheaply worked. They have vast beds of iron and of plaster; we in New England have none that we can work to a profit. The waters around them teem with valuable fish. Such is the condition of the one side.

They occupy one shore of that chain of lakes and rivers which pierces this continent from the Atlantic almost to the Rocky Mountains, all lying within the northern temperate zone, to which the great body of European as well as American population are fully acclimated. The vast facilities which this route has offered, first for the exploration of the continent by Hennepin and La Salle, then for the adventurous fur-trader, and since the era of our independence for the purposes of Commerce, has spread civilization and agriculture through the prairies of the West.

The magnitude of this Commerce of the lakes can only be conceived when we remember that a recent report to Congress has estimated our share of it at \$325,000,000 of value, represented in 3,071,126 tons of freight, carried by our navigation—74,000 tons of steamers, 138,000 tons of sail-vessels. Its great future increase must depend materially upon the growth and prosperity of our northern neighbors.

The proposition that forms the basis of the new measures of reciprocity may be briefly stated. Availing herself of recently acquired rights and increased freedom, Canada desires that henceforth of the domestic productions of the two people, the raw products of agriculture, the mines, and the forest of each shall be permitted a free-access and market in the other country, without any tariff being levied upon them at all by either power, but that such trade in unmanufactured articles shall be free and unrestricted, as it now is between the adjoining States of this Union.

Articles of manufactures are not embraced in this measure of reciprocity, for the reason that Canada, having been abandoned by the British treasury, is compelled to support herself; and being engaged in great works of internal improvements—which will facilitate the trade of both countries, and, indeed, many of which are as necessary to us as to her—is compelled, in order to pay the interest of her loans and support her government, to raise a revenue by a tariff levied upon manufactured articles, of which she is a great consumer. This tariff averages only about half the amount of the duties levied on like articles in the United States, and is purely for revenue purposes. Circumstances have also connected with this matter the question of an extended system of reciprocity with the other provinces of British North America, whose lumber, fish, coal, agricultural, and other produce desires to seek our ports, and whom our quarrels as to our fishing interests and our desire to extend our trade, make it very expedient to have included within the proposed measures.

Although the object of this lecture is to show to the people of New England the importance of these questions, yet their bearing upon the southern and western States commands equal attention, because it offers for all their varied semi-tropical productions a near and almost exclusive market, which will constantly be growing in its capacity and profit to them as producers.

THE COMMERCE OF CANADA.

The wealth of nations consists not only in the fertility of their soil and the activity of their population, but in the foreseeing genius which explores markets, seeks new customers to supply, and from whom to draw cheapest new materials for consumption and manufacture, freights for shipping, and occasions for commercial enterprise.

Immense as has been the stimulus given to the Atlantic cities by the growth of the West, and vast as the trade and Commerce are which our railroads and canals bring to the coast, still the half of the wealth of that great West has not been unfolded; Canada, stretching along the whole northern shores of the lakes, and that great river bounding upon our northern and eastern frontiers, including the other provinces, more than three thousand miles; her people endowed with an energy similar to our own; with fertile lands and great amounts of surplus produce,—seeks with toil and trouble a market convenient of access for her great exports, in which she also will be content to purchase those imports that her increasing population shall require for their comfort and luxury. In her search, she finds

that American energy, industry, and capital, directed by the forethought of genius, have furnished great systems of internal improvements, canals and railroads, connecting the frontier in the West with the Ohio River and the Mississippi, by which New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico can be reached; and in the East, similar works joining her easily with the great markets of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and that young emblem of Yankee energy, Portland.

How vast an addition her Commerce would make to the revenues of all these roads and canals; what increase to the prosperity of these cities; what development and growth to our tonnage and carrying trade, should she thus avail herself of our improvements, and pay our industry the tolls, charges, commissions and freights, hauling, &c., to be derived from the control of her trade, now \$35,000,000 a year, and most rapidly increasing! Why is not this object secured for our people? It should seem that when a great measure promising prosperity and benefit to millions of our population was suggested, that statesmen would gladly avail themselves of the opportunity to press its accomplishment with untiring energy; but experience has shown us that it is from the people that must spring this energy and action that forces legislators up to their duty. Year after year Canada has presented her project at the doors of Congress, and it still hangs heavy and the wheels of progress roll slowly. What is the obstacle that shuts her out from our ports and us out from a good trade? It does not spring from Canada. Years since she has taken all the action necessary to show how seriously she is in earnest in desiring friendly and reciprocal relations with us.

Our tariff on importations, like a great Chinese Wall, stretches along our northern frontier and forbids their availing themselves of our facilities, unless they pay a duty to the government that averages about 30 per cent, so high as to destroy trade and prevent the free and full use of our means of transportation even for bonded goods. Every railroad that reaches by any of its connections to the lakes, is prevented from developing its full powers by the restrictive policy that forces the trade of Canada to pass out of the mouth of the St. Lawrence and away from our ports and harbors. Every steamboat that floats upon the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Hudson, or the Chesapeake, is thus deprived of a portion of that carrying trade which ought to add to their profits. Every warehouse in the great cities on the Ohio, the Mississippi, or the Atlantic, is deprived of a part of its legitimate revenues by these restrictions on our neighbors. Every mechanic who wields a sledge, an axe, a hammer, or a tool, finds his loss in this restriction—to remove it would be to add another valley, great and fertile like the Ohio, to the commercial uses of the Union. Every ton of shipping, every wharf, and every farmer, drayman, stevedore, lumper, or laborer, would join in the prosperity produced by this measure. Its advantages are not all included in this export of the surplus of Canada, or its carriage by us. The effect of a reciprocal tariff would be to make our lake ports, our Atlantic ports, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New Orleans—all home markets for the Canadians and the provincials. There they would sell their produce, leaving the selection of foreign markets and the conducting of foreign trade to our merchants. Where they sold, there would they buy their supplies; the economy of making but one journey, and the advantage of a great assortment such as these cities afford, would induce them,

even in the face of a small adverse per centage, as a convenience, to employ their funds again in trade without the loss of interest.

Although the proposed measures of reciprocity are desired to cover only those raw materials of agricultural products, or of the forest, mines, or fisheries, and on them alone is it proposed to abolish the duties—yet while making these exchanges, our manufactures of all sorts and our foreign imports would assuredly find much greater markets, and the amount of purchases of our Northern neighbors would be more considerable than now; an immense stimulus would thus be given to all our arts and industry, and the enriching stream from the new market would favorably reach every man who had anything to sell, or who aids in producing anything which is intended for consumption.

Manufacturers have for years labored to represent the advantage of a home market. Here would be one—the purchaser would come to your doors, while the simplicity and rapidity of the transaction would be a source of profit to both.

A further view of the geographical position of Canada is worthy of notice. The River St. Lawrence and the Lakes stretch along her southern border; on the north are the regions of eternal snows; the only outlet to the Atlantic that is under her own flag is the mouth of the River St. Lawrence. If, then, the present isolating system of the United States shall be pursued, it necessarily follows that Canada will withdraw her present favorable regulations, in order to avail herself of the St. Lawrence wholly for her trade; this will create upon our North a rival system at once deleterious to the supremacy of our power, as well as the growth of our navigation. Quebec and Montreal must become the rendezvous of shipping, instead of our ports—already when nearly three-sevenths of her trade is through our ports—Quebec having the transportation of the other four-sevenths, is the second maritime port upon the continent of America; exporting more, in proportion to her population, than any city in the United States, and employing a tonnage of 580,000 tons, in 1851, to carry off her exports, which is greater than any port on the continent, except New York.

What the progress of population will do for it is very clear—this thing happens in the young tree. When the population of Canada is just developing, and only 1,800,000 souls, what shall we reasonably expect when in a few years she shall contain from seven to ten millions of people, whose trade our unnatural restrictions shall force through this outlet to the development of Canadian hostility; and a tonnage for transportation unparalleled in the history of the world; a commercial navy and seamen hanging on our North that will be to England the assurance of her continued supremacy of the ocean, and to us a source of well-grounded apprehension? May we not have to say that what all the power of England could not do, our folly has done?

EFFECTS ON THE SOUTHERN STATES.

In considering this subject briefly, it will appear that the South have a direct interest in both branches of this question. The agricultural products which the provinces would take will readily occur at the first glance to every planter—rice, sugar, hemp, cotton, and the tropical fruits. But besides, the great ship-building interests of the Eastern provinces would create a demand in the South of a new sort. The lumber of the South differs radically from that of the North; and in the great art of ship-building each

has its uses, where its superiority is most evident; and no ship is considered to be built in a first class manner, unless in her construction a proper use of both Northern and Southern lumber is made. Were reciprocity introduced, an improvement would take place in the provincial ship-building, and a new market thus be created for the yellow pine, white oak, and live oak of the South, of great importance to them, and tending to double the value of their forests by the increased demand for their use.

The increased consumption of naval stores would also be considerable from the abolition of taxation on them, and as with the gradual increase of population the importance of these new markets becomes more fully developed, an enlarged prosperity would result to the producers of naval stores and southern oak and pine.

The effect of these liberalizing measures also would tend much to diminish the prime cost of curing fish for market—both cod, mackerel, salmon, and herring—thus cheapening an article of food of prime necessity for a laboring population. The salt-works so often undertaken along the Southern coast might be developed into a profitable state of operation.

The river Mississippi would become a thoroughfare by which tropical productions from Cuba and South America would ascend to Canada West, in the most direct manner, to the great benefit of all those cities along that route, and of the labor and capital there employed in developing and extending their internal Commerce.

The necessities of a large population who must depend for their tropical supplies on the same sources as ourselves would lead them to sympathize with us in our efforts to control and direct the affairs of the Gulf of Mexico in such a manner as will best subserve our mutual and unelashing interests—by securing the cheap production of these necessary luxuries, it would unite this continent commercially, and control the islands for the benefit of the continent, in spite of all the intrigues of the jealous powers of Europe, who regard the union of America in one peaceful league as an assault on their dynastic oppression, and the individual prosperity of our people as a reproachful evidence of the happiness of those blessed with free institutions.

EFFECT ON THE WEST.

Besides giving to the Western States a new market for live-stock, fruit, and provisions, reciprocity will yield an additional stimulus to their works of internal improvements, by aid of which Southern productions will be carried to this new market.

Upper Canada is destitute of coal-fields and beds of iron ore; the great population which will dwell there, and the whole magnificent Commerce of the Lakes, must resort to the coal-fields of Illinois, Ohio, and Western Pennsylvania, for the means of producing steam power, and for fuel and light for their cities. This new market, whose capacity must increase yearly, will stimulate with great power the coal and iron production of the Western slopes, giving not only immediate prosperity, but the assurance of future countless wealth. From the greater cheapness of coal and iron, the south side of the Lakes must always be the seat of manufactures, of machinery, agricultural tools, and castings, for Canada. And the effect of reciprocity in promoting the prosperity of the mechanics and artisans throughout the West, as well as in developing the Lake Cities, cannot but be immediate and sensible. For the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, and the valley of the Ohio, a further view is presented; the superior mildness of

their climate will always enable them to raise all descriptions of live-stock much cheaper than the Canadians, who labor under the disadvantage of having to house their stock and feed them through a tedious and cold winter: a new stock market for horses, mules, hogs, cattle, and sheep, convenient and profitable, will thus be afforded, in addition to the advantages derived from supplying them with hemp and tobacco.

THE NAVIGATION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE.

The desire long felt by the whole valley of the Lakes to open this navigation so that they can without transshipments have a free access to the ports of the world, and even build their own vessels for carrying their produce, would be gratified by the success of this measure—as by its failure the hope would be totally destroyed.

The Canadian government has completed a most excellent system of canals around all the dangerous rapids of that river, and the success of reciprocity would throw open to our people the use of all her internal improvements on the same terms as are granted to her own citizens. All the various railroads to the Atlantic ports would thus be reached by vessels from the extreme West, without transshipments, as well as the ocean.

The further experimental contest—between railroad facilities and water navigation—would be left open and free, for our people as well as the Canadians, to test, through public competition, that system which will best satisfy the demands and the necessities of Commerce, and thereby increase to the farmer the convenience of reaching a ready market, and by the reductions on the expense of freight and charges increase the value of the raw material, even while diminishing its cost to the consumer.

New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, who have each several systems of railroads or canals reaching to the lakes, will feel no hostility to this free and fair competition; they are content to stand or fall by the great merits of their systems and the results of a large and vigorous Commerce. More than 150,000,000 of dollars have been invested in railroads connecting the Atlantic with the lakes and the St. Lawrence, in addition to which canals of almost half of that cost stretch their arms to embrace the same Commerce. The value of these works of internal improvement is greater than the cost of our whole foreign tonnage, which also is engaged or interested in the same trade. The cities whose real estate has a value based in a great degree upon this Commerce, can hardly be appraised; but it would be risking nothing to say that the real prosperity and much of the profit of more than \$500,000,000 of capital in the United States is now materially affected by this question, and still more so in its future results. It is absolutely vital in importance to the whole railroad interest of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Northern New York, and very material to all that of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, which connects with the lakes.

EFFECTS ON NEW ENGLAND.

These provinces are all nearer to us than are New Jersey and Pennsylvania; freights between us and them by water and railroad are cheaper than to the middle States. Let us try the question.

The population of America are migratory in their character, and will not stay at home if they can make more money by emigrating. The census of 1850 gives us curious statistics on this point. In the various States of this

Union there are 6,326,000 emigrants; of these, 2,210,828 are of foreign birth, 4,115,182 are born in other States than those they now live in—thus showing that fully one-third of our population have left their allegiance to their native States in the pursuit of property and happiness.

So peculiarly are the New Englanders an emigrating people, that our increase of population is less than that of other sections. At the time of our revolution, Massachusetts had double the population of any other State; now all New England has less population than the State of New York. How shall we keep our population at home? By affording them commercial and mechanical advantages, giving to Commerce cheap supplies, large and growing markets, developing natural advantages, enabling them to carry and to exchange commodities at cheaper rates than those who compete with them. Giving to manufacturers and mechanics cheap raw material, cheap power and facilities for working it up, and convenient markets. Or, what is the root of all this, the fundamental proposition for the prosperity of a nation, giving to labor cheap food, cheap rents, cheap fuel and clothing. Most especially in this hard climate, our increase of population and prosperity depends on the ability to make the dollar go further to supply the necessary wants of a man than before.

Good government and free institutions have an effect: the desire of man to place his children in a better situation than himself, has tended to keep at home much of our population, to enjoy our school privileges and other opportunities, of learning, family ties, religion, love of home, have their influence; but if food, fuel, and rent are cheaper elsewhere, and wages the same, profit prevails, and the man will go there to better his condition. I see danger in the future for Massachusetts, unless she stirs herself.

Coal, iron, and consequently steam power, are cheaper now in New Jersey and Pennsylvania than here; markets are nearer and larger: fuel, rent, and provisions are cheaper, and the climate more genial. All these little things go to make up the per centage of profit on industry, and, in the long run, the natural advantages determine the question. Men with small means are manufacturing in the middle States profitably. Here we require large capital and the economies necessary in the organization of establishments on a large scale to insure success, as is proved by the fact that our manufacturing is mostly carried on by corporations of larger capital than the measure of individual fortunes. Yet, with smaller enterprises and less organization, Philadelphia as a manufacturing city has reached almost 500,000 population; Newark, N. J., about 38,834; and against them we can show only Lowell, 33,383, as a large manufacturing city. I take the secret of all this to be, that coal, the great element of cost in steam power, is at least one and a half dollars cheaper in Philadelphia, and about a dollar a ton cheaper in New York than it is here. Their school system is getting to be as good as ours, and they are nearer the markets of the South and West, and have cheap facilities for reaching them. Ten years will tell a sad story for us unless something should be done; these advantages must be neutralized by something, or we must stop.

Now, I think that I can show, gentlemen, that reciprocity with our Northern neighbors, though it will not restore to us those markets in which our neighbors are rapidly outstripping us, will practically, by opening a new market where we shall be on a more equal footing, neutralize these advantages, and place us in as fair position for honest and profitable competition as the mechanic and mercantile industry of the coal and iron States.



The protective system fails here, because there is a growing competition in the home market of States against whom we have no protection. Reciprocity tenders to us a new home market, as yet but slightly explored. The dark cordon of tariffs and custom-houses that have shut us off from nearly three millions of people,* who are nearer to us and of cheaper access than they are to the middle States, will be broke down by this new system. For Lower Canada and the provinces, no ingenuity of capital can furnish shorter roads from the seats of manufactures than those of New England; we shall supply them with shoes, boots, cottons, castings, woollens, and fruit. From the convenience of our harbors, and our constant intercourse with the tropics and with Europe, we can supply them with all tropical productions, sugar, coffee, molasses, and teas, at cheaper and better terms than by any other route. We shall do the most of her foreign trade and get good commission for it, besides the profitable freights for carrying her productions to the markets of the world, over our railroads and in our ships. Thus both the internal and foreign Commerce of our country will be increased, and our internal improvements made more profitable.

COAL.

In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick lie great coal beds, so convenient to tide-water that we can get them on ship-board without any cost of inland transportation; the sea freight will be about the same as that from the different ports whence we are now supplied. The great cost of transporting coal from the Alleghany Mountains to the sea coast amounts to nearly one-third the whole cost of a ton of coal, varying with different ports of shipment. The cost to Philadelphia, New York, or Baltimore, will average about \$2 per ton. All this would be saved by supplying ourselves from the mines of Pictou and Sydney.

The present tariff amounts to 30 per cent ad valorem, or about 96 cents a ton duty on this coal. Strike it off, and you have coal here good for mechanical purposes, well fit for working in iron or generating steam, at a cost of \$4 50 per chaldron—increase this trade so they can afford to organize it better, and the cost will be reduced still lower.† If coal is thus cheapened, you can use steam power along the coast for manufacturing cheaper than now, therefore more profitably. At present, whilst New York has great fleets of ocean steamers, the pride of the Union, Boston has none. The difference in the price of coal at these points is enough to affect the question of profit; you can run them cheaper from New York and repair them cheaper there. If you have in Massachusetts no works for building ocean engines as at New York, the cost of coal is a powerful reason. An-

* The population of these provinces, by the last census, stood—

1851.....	Nova Scotia	276,117
1851.....	New Brunswick.....	193,800
1848.....	Prince Edward Island.....	62,678
1845.....	Newfoundland.....	96,506
1852.....	Upper Canada.....	952,004
1852.....	Lower Canada.....	890,261

Total..... 2,471,366

† Pictou coal at mines (1852) costs, in quantity, per chaldron.....	\$2 75
Duties	0 72½
Freight to Boston	3 00
Sydney coal at mines costs, in quantity, per chaldron	\$3 25 to
Duty	3 20
Freight to Boston	0 96
Anthracite coal costs in Boston per ton, in quantity.....	2 00
	4 50

other point, with our hard winters cheap fuel is a most important item, and coal at one-third reduced price per ton, will contribute much to the comfort and independence of the working classes. This reduction of price would affect a family materially. Thus, you see, this item will affect every one living on the sea coast; and by diminishing his expenses, increase his prosperity.

Let it not be thought that Pennsylvania will suffer by this; she will only change her customer: her great State works already reach Lake Erie, and are calculated to supply coal to Upper Canada; her Lackawana railroad connects with the Erie railroad and the Erie canal, and carried this year 75,000 tons of coal to the Lake shore. Throw off these restrictions, and she will have a natural market of 1,000,000 of people, and a profitable trade on her own great roads, instead of this unnatural market of four or five hundred thousand people. She will make by the change and we shall do so too. In a still further aspect it may be well doubted if this measure would deleteriously affect the eastern mines of Pennsylvania. The consumption of coal in New England is now limited; from the high price of the article we are prevented from engaging extensively in manufactures by steam power, and no reasonable expectations exist of the produce of the eastern Pennsylvania mines being so cheapened in prime cost or in freight, as to enable us ever to manufacture with their coal much more extensively than at present. A long and carefully conducted series of experiments made here, has announced the fact that in New England water power is much cheaper than coal. The effect of our getting our manufacturing coal from Sydney and Pictou at reduced rates of one dollar a chaldron, would not drive out the existing supplies of coal, but it would enable work to be done on the sea coast that before was too expensive to be done at all. Our iron-works of all sorts, which have been so unfortunate for many years past, would be revived by this measure; we should be enabled to go into steam navigation to a far greater extent than at present, because we could afford to build engines and steamers; we could afford to run them at rates approximating to the expense account in New York; whilst now the utmost economy of our renowned management cannot bring the cost of marine engines, and of running them, down to the same point as the New Yorkers. The same facts apply to all heavy forging, as repairing shafts, &c. In the multitudinous manufactures of iron that would grow up, and the more extensive demands of Commerce and an increasing population, the Pennsylvanians would find an increased demand for their coal, to mix with other coal in various descriptions of smelting—to be used in long voyages by steamers and propellers, where its greater compactness of bulk compared to freight, makes it an object; in all points of view they would be benefited by the extension of eastern consumption of their staple; and from our free command of the gas coal of New Brunswick, the manufacturing coal of Pictou and Sydney, we should probably double or treble the entire amount of coal consumed yearly upon this side of Cape Cod.

The total amount of provincial coal imported into the United States for 1848 was 34,800 chaldrons. Total amount raised from their mines 62,000 chaldrons. While the same year the Pennsylvania mines sent to market 3,000,000 tons. As two-thirds of the cost of coal is the expense of freight from the mines to the consumer, it follows that nature puts a limit on the circle within which any given mine can most cheaply supply coal for consumption. I have taken Cape Cod as the extreme southern point where the difference in the cost of freights will give to provincial coal, for its pur-

poses the superiority of cheapness. North of that point, if left to nature as a guide, the consumption of coal and the increase of seaboard population, and of iron and other manufactures, will be greatly accelerated by reciprocity.

I have now concluded the recital of the advantages that I desire to press upon the reader. I have shown that it gives to Commerce new trade, to capital cheaper steam power, to manufactures new markets, and to labor the three great advantages of cheaper food, fuel, and rent; while it does not decrease the prosperity of any class. Reciprocity will benefit us all in New England, will open to us those natural advantages that restrictive politics have robbed us of. We have but to break down this Chinese wall, give freedom to our trades, and the advantages that art and nature have created for us will yield us an ample protection in the future. Invite this great people to come among us and learn lessons of freedom; let them fairly judge if our ancestors were wise in breaking the trammels of a tyrannical colonial system; and if they read the lesson aright, we can thank God that a propagandi of gentle, peaceful Commerce, and benevolent reciprocity, has fallen like the dews of heaven on their hearts. We offer a system of real progress, destructive to a dynastic feudality, and which, if followed with self-relying confidence, will lead our neighbors to independence and prosperity.

These facts have constrained me to believe that the material prosperity and wealth of the whole Northern frontier, and of our Atlantic coast of the South, as well as the great West, can be highly benefited by this mutual and free intercourse. I have not, in the narrow limits to which a lecture should be restricted, space to dwell upon all the points that so beneficially affect our interests; the great demand for our Western beef and pork, the apples and the more tropical productions of the Southern States, which would seek markets there by aid of the Western internal improvements; the Illinois canal and railroads, the Ohio and Indiana railroads and canals, tending to build up cities in the West, and to add, by various apparent means, to the wealth of these portions of the Union. The principles of public policy on which rests the question of reciprocal relations of free Commerce with our neighbors, are those which in our earlier history had the support of three of our most illustrious statesmen—Jefferson, Franklin, and Adams. Indeed they were the great hope of Mr. Jefferson's life; and in his report as Secretary of the Treasury, he expresses his fervent desire to induce even one nation of the world to try the experiment with us. This theory has been the basis of every commercial treaty we have ever made; and although the prejudices of the old world have always prevented our truly republican policy from obtaining a theater to try the benefits of reciprocally free intercourse, at last, upon the shores of this continent, there has grown up a people numerous and prosperous, who acknowledge the force of these great principles, and with open hands offer to us the opportunity of trying with them the practical effects of these great economical measures in all the breadth and fullness of the conception of our revolutionary statesmen; and I cannot conceive that, now, after so many years of ardent hope and disappointment, the American people will permit to pass the opportunity of verifying the truth of ideas most eminently American in their origin, and which will commence that great revolution in the theory of legislation for Commerce and the interests of the people, that Providence seems to have reserved as the special mission of the American people.